Finally the Guardia Civil went to Elofre's barrio to arrest him and suppress the meetings. After several clashes in which some of his followers were killed, Elofre decided to surrender to the authorities to halt any further bloodshed. Another account, however, states that he and his father were secretly visiting a nephew in Zamboanguita poblacion, and that Elofre intended to give himself up when he was surprised by the Guardia Civil. In the struggle to capture Elofre, his father was killed. Elofre and his brother-in-law, Valentin Tubigan, nicknamed "Cachila" (i.e., Spaniard because of his long black beard), were able to escape.[94]

Elofre's escape from the Guardia Civil allegedly was due to his supernatural powers and his anting-anting (amulet). At first the two men established their residence at Sitio Abolay (Aboli), west of Barrio Olambid in the northern part of Siaton municipality.[95] Later they

[94] Ruiz also states his full name was Valentin Tubigan or "Cachila." Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150. One informant said Elofre was visiting his father's residence in Zamboanguita with no intention of surrendering. While there his dagger began "to bleed." Elofre's father believed this to be a bad omen and urged his son to leave before the Guardia Civil learned he was in the poblacion. Elofre refused and later the soldiers surrounded his father's residence, tied him to a chair and bayoneted his father to death before Elofre's eyes. Because of his supernatural powers, Elofre and Valentin were able to escape.

[95] The former capitan of Zamboanguita (whom I interviewed, when he was eleven years old, claims he actually saw an example of Elofre's magical powers. While at a house with Elofre, the latter requested a glass of water. The water did not arrive quickly and Elofre was quite thirsty, so he knocked a large bamboo, part of the house's structure, and fresh water gushed forth. One day when hungry and without money, Elofre told one of his friends to cut open a squash growing in the field. Inside the squash was found 20 centavos. When his followers were hungry, Elofre is said to have spread his handkerchief on the sea, sailed away, and returned later with plenty of fish.

called Riadillo while others dressed in priest-like robes with belts or ropes of a red cloth called Condiman. Every man wore a red and white ribbon across his breast; they carried flags of the same colors. If the Babaylanes met Filipinos with their shirts outside their pants they were punished. This habit was considered by the Babaylanes a symbol of subservience to the Spaniards. They were armed with spears, bolos, daggers and bows and arrows. [411]

When the Babaylanes reached Barrio Mantuyop they encamped and sent two messengers to Siaton to tell the people that they wished to be met at the municipio. Food was ordered to be prepared for them. The people of Siaton, frightened and confused, did as they were told. When the Babaylanes approached the poblacion plaza they knelt on the ground, lapping their hands. The people in the poblacion also knelt on the ground until the Babaylanes reached the church.

The Babaylanes had many amulets. Cadiane writes that they pasted a piece of paper to their forehead as an anting-anting (amulet) to make them invulnerable to bullets. Morris said some had an amulet (design unknown) which did not work if the individual cried out when shot! For the amulet to be effective the person had to remain silent when shot.[154] Anting-antings were common among such bands in the Philippines. Amulets were common before the Spaniards' arrival, with the spread of Catholicism in the Philippines.

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[154]Morris, op. cit., p. 25.

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177

The wearing of scapularies, amulets, etc., blessed at Roman Catholic shrines, would seem to have given the idea added sanction during the Spanish regime, and the anting-anting of today has words of sacred significance and figures of the Virgin or crucifix (frequently drawn in rude style in ink on a ragged breastplate of cheap cotton cloth), besides meaningless words and figures of beasts which date back to pre-Catholic days..."[155]

262
177

A carabao had been killed the day the Babailanes arrived in Siaton because it had gored a man. When this meat was offered to them they refused, explaining they did not eat meat on Wednesday, probably a reinterpretation of the Catholic custom. The next morning, without disturbing the residents, the Babailanes left for Dumaguete. News of their movement toward the city threw the people in Zamboanguita, Dauin, and Bacong into confusion. Messengers were sent from Zamboanguita to Dumaguete notifying the officials of the Babailanes pending attack and requesting troops for the protection of the community.

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Fifty armed tiradoras (sharpshooters) were sent from Dumaguete. They met the Babailanes at Barrio Bulak (Bacong) and "herded them like sheep until they arrived at the school building in poblacion Bacong." The Babailanes were kept in the building all night. Gadiane does not report what fate befell this group, although he mentions negotiations were carried out with the new governor of Negros Oriental "for this was already the time of the revolution."

[155] LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, II, pp. 214-5, footnote No. 1.

Many items are used in the buri lihi in Caticugan. Each mananguete, however, seems to improvise. Certain items are basic to all the lihis such as pag-i, sharpened bits of thorny bamboo, pauli roots (Cleidion spieiflorum Merr.), and guhang vinegar. Other items depend upon the individual making the lihi and perhaps their availability. I always asked for the specific purpose for each lihi item but the explanation given in some cases was only "it protects the buri," how or why was unknown. Table XX summarizes the information gathered concerning the buri lihi.

TABLE XX

Guhang Lihi Chart for Caticugan and Environs

Items Used in Lihi	Purposes
1. Guhang vinegar	1. To give the guhang a strong taste
2. Roots of pangasan vine that have a bitter taste	2. To give the guhang a strong taste
3. Bark and roots of badbad tree	3. Protection against "envious persons"
4. Tagilaway (an insect that is said always to be secreting saliva; tagilaway means "saliva").	4. To keep the buri sap flowing
5. Bahagbahag (a seaworm)	5. Protection against "envious persons"
6. Roots of uli-an vine (uli-an means "bring back").	6. Ensure constant flow of sap. If sap stops this may be added to "bring back" sap.
7. Roots of the pauli tree (Pauli means "to come back" or "to go home").	7. Same reason as uli-an. Also protection against "envious persons."

TABLE XX (Continued)

8. Barb of ray fish (pag-i)	8. Protection against "envious persons"
9. Pieces of sharpened thorny bamboo	9. Protection against "envious persons"
10. Discarded flashlight bulb or battery	10. Protection against "envious persons." The idea seems to be that "neither will work without the other," i.e., the flashlight will not work without a bulb or a battery.
11. Red peppers	11. To improve the taste of the guhang
12. Gunpowder	12. Protection against "envious persons" who might shoot buri. Used in Bonbonon but not in Caticugan.
13. Mallorca (a commerically produced alcoholic drink made from sugar cane alcohol)	13. To improve the taste of the guhang
14. Scrapings from a wild pig's tusk	14. Protection against "envious persons"
15. Salt	15. So "eye" will not leak, be soft and give plenty of sap
16. Scrapings from the spur of a wild chicken	16. Protection against "envious persons"
17. Chicken feathers of any color	17. Reason or purpose unknown
18. Bark of the kalingay tree	18. So when a person drinks guhang he will not get diarrhea.
19. Kolino roots	19. Protection against "envious persons"
20. Tango sa lite ("teeth of the thunder.") The barrio-folk report when lightning strikes a tree little stones are sometimes found sticking to the bark.	20. Protection against "envious persons"

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TABLE XX (Contigued)

21. Kalapongay stems ("Kalapongay sometimes looks like a dead stick but it keeps sending out new growth all the time")	21. To keep the sap flowing	245 273 824 751
22. Lead from a bullet	22. Protection against "envious persons"	
23. Paniawan vine	23. Protection against "envious persons"	

The purposes of the various items used in the guhang lihi can be classified into three categories: (1) to protect the buri from "envious persons"; (2) to improve the guhang's flavor; (3) to ensure an abundant and constant flow of sap. The flow and the taste of sap are two uncertainties in making guhang; this may account for their more complete coverage by magic.

There is good reason for this obvious concern over "envious persons" who may desire to harm the buri producing guhang. It is difficult to refuse friends, and especially relatives, a free glass or two of guhang. Yet if one does not refuse there would be little to sell. Both sexes are fond of guhang and gather regularly around the buris when the owners are collecting guhang. If a palm is noted for a particularly fine-flavored guhang, it attracts more barriofolk. While many will not ask for a free drink the purpose of their presence is painfully clear to the tree's owner. Their thirst normally is limited only by the donor's generosity.

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